

Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of MALDEF  
In  
GI Forum v Texas  
by  
Henry Flores, Ph.D.

**Introduction**

1. My name is Henry Flores and I am over the age of eighteen (18) years. I have never been convicted of a crime and am fully competent to express the below opinions. The following facts are within my personal and professional knowledge and are true and correct.
2. St. Mary's University in San Antonio, Texas presently employs me as a Tenured Full Professor in the Department of Political Science. I have been employed at St. Mary's for 20 years and have served as Chair of the Department and Director of both graduate programs in Political Science and Public Administration. Currently, I teach courses in Texas Politics, Campaign Management, U.S. Latino Politics, and Political Science Research methods and Statistics at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. (see attached VITA).
3. I received my Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California at Santa Barbara in 1981 with examination fields in American Politics, Public Administration, Political Theory/Philosophy, and Multivariate Statistical Analysis. I have published numerous articles and presented learned papers on racially polarized voting specifically and various aspects of the Voting Rights Act generally since 1986. I have

also recently published a book entitled The Evolution of the Liberal Democratic State With a Case Study of Latinos in San Antonio, Texas by Edwin Mellen Press where I discuss the polarized nature of the electorate in both San Antonio and Bexar County, Texas. Additionally, I have testified in over 25 voting rights matters since 1986 one of which was a submission to the Assistant Attorney General of the United States for Civil Rights concerning the Congressional Redistricting in Texas in 1992. In the 1992 Texas State Senate Redistricting litigation. And testified on behalf of the Republican Party of Texas. During the 2001 redistricting round I performed research on racially polarized voting in Texas at the William C. Velasquez Research Institute and testified six times before various state house and senate committees on redistricting as well as before the Texas State Legislative Redistricting Board. Finally, I have offered expert testimony in 15 additional civil rights cases concerned with employment discrimination. (See attached VITA).

4. I have been retained by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, on behalf of the G.I. Forum plaintiffs, as a statistical and voting rights testifying expert witness in the above styled case. I am being paid a fee of \$100.00 per hour plus reasonable expenses for my work in this matter.
5. I was retained to evaluate and report on the extent of racially polarized voting in the 23<sup>rd</sup> United States Congressional District of Texas for the general elections of 1992 through 2002, the 2002 Gubernatorial Election results within the boundaries of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District and the 2002 general election results of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> Congressional Districts. Finally, I was asked to determine and evaluate the extent of racially polarized voting in the six congressional districts by subjecting

the election results, of several statewide elections from within the jurisdictional boundaries of the congressional districts, to both double regression and homogeneous precinct analyses. These elections included the Place 1 and 4 Texas State Supreme Court and the Place 3 Texas Court of Criminal Appeals 2002 General Elections.

### **Racially Polarized Voting**

6. The United States Supreme Court has provided us with a clear definition of racially polarized voting. *Thornburg v. Gingles* 478 U.S. 30, 54 n.21 (1986) (racial polarization exists where “there is a consistent relationship between the race of the voter and the way in which the voter votes...or to put it differently where ‘black voters and white voters vote differently’.”) The Supreme Court further noted that “. . . the legal concept of racially polarized voting incorporates neither causation nor intent. It means simply that the race of voters correlates with the selection of a certain candidate or candidates; that is, it refers to the situation where different races (or minority language groups) vote in blocs for different candidates” *Id.* at 62. There is no percentage threshold or political party mentioned nor is there any mention of whether the choice of a certain group of voters should win or lose any election. The only mention is that a “consistent pattern” exists of voters of one race or language minority group preferring candidates different from Non Hispanic White voters.
7. Racially polarized voting lies at the heart of the vote dilution analysis because the theoretical basis of vote dilution is that “where minority and majority voters consistently prefer different candidates, the majority by virtue of its numerical superiority, will regularly defeat the choices of minority voters.” *Id.* at 48.

**General Methodology**

8. My opinion is based upon the application of the two equation or double regression technique to the election returns and the counts of the Hispanic and NonHispanic registered voter populations in the precincts comprising the geographical area within the jurisdictional boundaries of the 23<sup>rd</sup> United States Congressional District for all general elections between 1992 and 2002 inclusively. I also performed the same statistical analyses on the 2002 Gubernatorial Election results within the boundaries of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District and on the 2002 General Election results of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> United States Congressional Districts. This included the 2002 General Election results of the Texas State Supreme Court's Place 1 and 4 and the Texas Court of Criminal Appeal's Place 3 elections. Additionally, I performed Homogeneous Precinct Analysis, oftentimes referred to as Extreme Case Analysis, on all the elections reported here. In all, a total of 27 elections were subjected to both double regression and homogeneous precinct analyses for this report. The election results and registered voter counts were taken from the Texas Election Dataset (TED) maintained on the website of the Texas Legislative Council. All election returns were proofread by the Legislative Council against the official county canvass and then entered in the TED. The counts of registered voters were derived by the Legislative Council from the Texas Master File of registered voters that is generated, in turn, from the State Voter Registration Master File and the Census Bureau List of Spanish Surnames.

**Two-Equation or Double Regression Technique**

9. The two equation or double regression technique<sup>1</sup> was performed on the elections identified in Tables 1 through 4 of this report. The technique is designed to compensate for the single regression's inability to account for differential turnout. In other words, it compensates for the extreme difference in turnout from election to election and between various racial groups within a given election. Nevertheless, it cannot compensate for any extreme variations in turnout. In these instances one may derive estimates of support that are above 100%. All regressions in this report are weighted by the Total Registered Voters in order to compensate for this situation. Additionally, because this technique analyzes aggregate election results, one cannot use this technique to assume the voting preference of a specific voter at the precinct level.
10. Double regression begins with the computation of two equations. The first is derived when the number of votes received by both the Hispanic and NonHispanic candidates is divided by the number of registered voters in each precinct. This obviously was modified for this report in that the number of votes received by the candidates of the two major parties was divided by the number of registered voters in each precinct in order to construct the dependent variable. These variables are identified as the dependent variables, one for each equation. Each of these variables is regressed, in turn, on the independent variable that is the percentage of Hispanic registered voters in each precinct. Dividing the number of Hispanic registered voters by the total number of registered voters per precinct derives this latter variable. This technique is then repeated using the percentage of NonHispanic registered voters as the independent variable. The double regression results are the derivation of two

equations that can then be solved algebraically for the estimated percentage of support for a given candidate by voters of a specific racial group. It should be noted that prior to performing the regression technique both variables should be weighted by the total registered voter population to assist in the minimization of the effects of differential population settlement patterns. The end results are the four equations set forth below, two equations for estimating Hispanic support and two equations for estimating NonHispanic support:

$$\text{EQ1} = \text{Hisp Supp for Hisp Cand} = a_1 + b_1/a_1 + b_1 + a_2 + b_2$$

$$\text{EQ2} = \text{Hisp Supp for Non Hisp White Cand} = a_2 + b_2/a_1 + b_1 + a_2 + b_2$$

$$\text{EQ3} = \text{Nhispp Supp for Hisp Cand} = a_3 + b_3/a_3 + b_3 + a_4 + b_4$$

$$\text{EQ4} = \text{Nhispp Supp for NonHisp Cand} = a_4 + b_4/a_3 + b_3 + a_4 + b_4$$

Where  $a_i$  = the unstandardized coefficient for the constant (dependent variable) and  $b_i$  = the unstandardized coefficient for the independent variable

11. Additionally, the two equation regression technique allows for the calculation of estimated turnout rates for Hispanic and NonHispanic registered voters. This is accomplished through the calculation of the following two equations:

$$T_H = a_1 + b_1 + a_2 + b_2$$

$$T_{NH} = a_3 + b_3 + a_4 + b_4$$

Where  $T_H$  equals the turnout of Hispanic registered voters and  $T_{NH}$  equals the turnout of NonHispanic registered voters.<sup>2</sup> All regression analyses were performed utilizing the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, v. 11.0 (SPSS, v. 11.0) which is one of the standard software packages utilized by social sciences in the performance

of data analysis. The computer printouts for all seven elections are attached as an appendix to this report.

### **Homogeneous Precinct or Extreme Case Analysis**

12. Homogeneous Precinct Analysis entails determining the percentage of support each candidate receives in what are generally referred to as homogeneous precincts based on their racial composition. In other words, a determination is made as to the level of support a candidate receives in precincts where voters of only one race reside and vote. In jurisdictions where no homogeneous precincts exist then precincts composed of 80-90% of one racial group may be used.<sup>4</sup> For purposes of this report the lowest percentage of any one racial group utilized in performing homogeneous precinct analysis was 85%. The results of these analyses are depicted in Tables 5 through 8 of this report.

### **Double Regression Findings**

13. The double regression technique was applied to the general election results of all United States Congressional Elections held within the jurisdictional boundaries of the 23<sup>rd</sup> District in Texas for all years from 1992 through 2002. Additionally, the results of the 2002 Texas Gubernatorial Election for precincts within the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District were also analyzed utilizing the double regression technique as were the 2002 General Election results of the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> Congressional Districts. Additionally, the results of the Texas State Supreme Court's Place 1 and 4 and the Texas Court of Criminal Appeal's Place 3 elections which occurred within the boundaries of the United States Congressional Districts 15, 16, 20, 23, 27, and 28 were submitted to the two-equation technique. All of the double regression estimates for all elections

are set forth in Tables 1 through 4 of this report. In Tables 1 through 4 are depicted the estimated support levels by Hispanic and NonHispanic Registered Voters for the Hispanic-preferred and NonHispanic preferred candidates respectively.

14. In the 23<sup>rd</sup> United States Congressional District the average level of Hispanic registered voter support for the Hispanic-preferred candidates, is 90.6%. On the other hand, as the data in Table 1 indicate, the average level of NonHispanic registered voter support for the Hispanic-preferred candidates is 17.9%. One can also observe the opposite phenomenon by perusing the data in Table 2 where NonHispanic preferred candidates, average 10.9% support among Hispanic registered voters and 82.1% support from the NonHispanic registered voters. The data in Tables 1 and 2 indicate a clear and consistent pattern of racial polarization. So, clearly the candidates of choice for Hispanic voters within the United States 23<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District are the Hispanic candidates, and when the race is between two Hispanics, the Hispanic Democrat. The winner of each congressional election within the jurisdictional boundaries of the 23<sup>rd</sup> District is noted in both Tables 1 and 2 and the data indicate that the candidate preferred by Hispanic voters has not won a congressional election since 1992 in the 23<sup>rd</sup> United States Congressional District.
15. The data in Table 2 indicate that the incumbent congressman, Henry Bonilla, has never been the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters in the 23<sup>rd</sup> United States Congressional District. The highest estimated level of support he has received from Hispanic voters was in 1996 when he received 21.97% of the Hispanic vote. Also, he has averaged only 14.95% support over the six elections portrayed in Table 2. On the other hand, Mr. Bonilla has averaged 83.4% support from the NonHispanic



voters during the same elections indicating that he is the preferred choice of the NonHispanic Registered Voters in the district.

16. The data in Tables 1 and 2 also show estimated levels of support for Mr. Tony Sanchez and Governor Rick Perry for their 2002 General Election. Again, the data indicate that Mr. Sanchez, received an overwhelming percentage of support from Hispanic voters and was their candidate of choice. Mr. Perry, conversely, was the overwhelming choice of the NonHispanic Registered Voters within the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District. Finally, the Standard Error of the Estimate for all support levels is reported in the last column of Tables 1 through 4.

17. The data in Tables 3 and 4 indicate similar patterns of racial polarization in fourteen of the seventeen elections reported. The only elections that do not appear polarized occurred in Congressional District 16. These three elections have very high Standard Errors (.053) and the double regression estimates were not statistically significant. This may be an artifact of the unusual distribution of data that can be observed in the attached printouts. Nevertheless, fourteen of the elections in Tables 3 and 4 indicated that Hispanic candidates were the preferred candidates of the Hispanic voters while the NonHispanic candidates were the preferred candidates of the NonHispanic voters. Again, the Standard Errors are reported in the last columns of Tables 3 and 4.

#### **Homogeneous Precinct Analysis**

18. The homogeneous precinct analyses substantiate the double regression findings.

The data in Tables 5 through 8 indicate that there is a consistent pattern where the preferred candidates of Hispanic voters do not fare well in those precincts having

more than 90% NonHispanic voters. Although the levels of support derived from homogeneous precinct analysis and those derived from the double regression technique differ, the important issue is that they are consistently similar. Exact levels of support will differ because the double regression technique incorporates all precincts and all votes cast where the homogeneous precinct analysis only includes those votes cast in a small number of precincts. As indicated in Tables 5 through 8 the number of precincts used in the analyses ranged from a low of 4 to a high of 33. Regardless of the number of precincts, however, it is clear that the support patterns reveal a consistent and persistent pattern of racially polarized voting in the three congressional districts included in the report. It should be noted here that the homogeneous precinct analysis for Congressional District 16 does indicate a degree of racial polarization. As it noted in Table 8, however, there were not any precincts having more than 79% NonHispanic Registered Voters to perform homogeneous precinct analysis on those types of precincts. Nonetheless, racial polarization is indicated in those precincts having more than 90% Hispanic Registered Voters.

#### **Racial Polarization and Turn Out**

19. The estimated turnout rates for Hispanic and NonHispanic Registered Voters are reported in Tables 9 and 10. As the data clearly demonstrate NonHispanic Registered Voters turnout at more than twice the rate as Hispanic voters in the ten elections reported in Table 9. The overall average for Hispanic turnout is 25.6% while that of NonHispanic Registered Voters is 59.8%. In the last column of Table 9 are reported the percentage difference between the Hispanic and NonHispanic turnout rates. As the data show the average difference in turnout over all ten

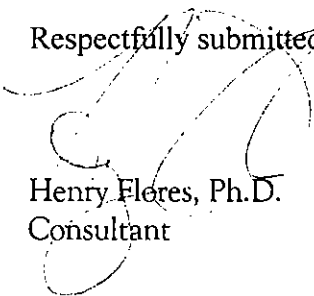
elections is 34.2% with NonHispanic Voters consistently turning out in much higher percentages than Hispanic voters. The data in Table 10 indicate that Hispanic voters also have much lower turn out rates than NonHispanic registered voters in the reported seventeen elections.

20. Racial polarization in itself can have a dilutive effect on the Hispanic vote particularly when coupled with low registration and turn-out rates. If Non Hispanic White voters vote at higher levels than the Hispanic electorate and a district experiences racial polarization, as is the case in almost all elections reported here, then the district's racial configuration can deprive Hispanics of the opportunity to elect a candidate of choice. The data reported in the three tables here are clear. Every statistically significant election is racially polarized and the candidate of choice of the Hispanic voters has never won a congressional election in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District. And, NonHispanic Voters turnout at higher rates than Hispanic voters. The turnout differentials also indicate that there is not a sufficient amount of NonHispanic crossover vote, (i.e., where NonHispanic voters "crossover" to vote for the Hispanic Voters choice of candidate,) in sufficient numbers that would allow the Hispanic candidate of choice an opportunity to win in this congressional district.
21. Neither double regression nor homogeneous precinct analysis were performed on the general election results from the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> United States Congressional Districts because they were uncontested.

### Opinion Recapitulated

22. My analysis of the 27 elections mentioned in Tables 1 through 8 of this report have led me to conclude that racial polarization is a consistent feature of the elections within the jurisdictional boundaries of the United States 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup>, and 28<sup>th</sup> Congressional Districts.
23. Additionally, there is a consistent pattern of Hispanic voters having much lower turnout rates than NonHispanic voters within the jurisdictional boundaries of the United States 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup>, and 28<sup>th</sup> Congressional Districts.
24. There is a consistent pattern of high turnout and low crossover voting on the part of NonHispanic Registered Voters for the Hispanic voters' preferred candidates in the elections of the 23<sup>rd</sup> United States Congressional District.

Respectfully submitted,



Henry Flores, Ph.D.  
Consultant

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard Grofman, et al. 1985. "The 'Totality of Circumstances Test' in Section 2 of the 1982 Extension of the Voting Rights Act: A Social Science Perspective." Law and Policy, Vol. 7 No. 2, pp. 199 – 223.

<sup>2</sup>All equations follow from pp. 86 – 88 in Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley, and Richard G. Niemi's Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p. 95.

Table 1  
 U.S. Congressional District 23  
 (Endogenous and Selected Statewide Exogenous Elections)  
 General Election Results  
 Support by Race for  
 Hispanic Preferred Candidates  
 (Double Regression Estimates)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>%Hispanic Support</u>	<u>%NonHispanic Support</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
1992	Bustamante (L)	US23rd	84.7	18.3	(.013)
1994	Rios (L)	US23rd	84.3	18.5	(.008)
1996	Jones (L)	US23rd	78.03	19.15	(.009)
1998	Jones (L)	US23rd	79.12	14.8	(.007)
2000	Garza (L)	US23rd	84.6	16.8	(.011)
2002	Cuellar (L)	US23rd	99.6	12.1	(.016)
2002	Sanchez (W)	Gov	>99	16.4	(.017)
2002	Yanez	SSC, Pl 1	>99	21.12	(.015)
2002	Mirabel	SSC, Pl 4	>99	26.3	(.016)
2002	Molina	CCA, Pl 3	>99	15.5	(.016)
<b>AVG</b>			<b>90.6</b>	<b>17.9</b>	

Table 2  
 U.S. Congressional District 23  
 (Endogenous and Selected Exogenous Statewide Elections)  
 General Election Results  
 Support by Race for  
 Non Hispanic Preferred Candidates  
 (Double Regression Estimates)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>%Hispanic Support</u>	<u>%NonHispanic Support</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
1992	Bonilla (W)	US23rd	15.3	81.7	(.029)
1994	Bonilla (W)	US23rd	15.8	81.5	(.016)
1996	Bonilla (W)	US23rd	21.97	80.9	(.018)
1998	Bonilla (W)	US23rd	20.88	85.2	(.014)
2000	Bonilla (W)	US23rd	15.4	83.2	(.018)
2002	Bonilla (W)	US23rd	.37	87.9	(.01)
2002	Perry (L)	Gov	16.4	83.6	(.009)
2002	Schneider	SSC, Pl 1	< 1	78.9	(.009)
2002	Smith	SSC, Pl 4	< 1	73.7	(.008)
2002	Cochran	CCA, Pl 3	< 1	84.5	(.009)
<b>AVG</b>			<b>10.9</b>	<b>82.1</b>	

Table 3  
 2002 General Election Results  
 U.S. Congressional Districts:  
 15, 16, 20, 27, & 28  
 Support by Race for  
 Hispanic Preferred Candidates  
 (Double Regression Estimates)

<u>Dist</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>%HispSupp</u>	<u>%NHispSupp</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
15	Yanez	SSC, Pl 1	>99	22	(.013)
	Mirabel	SSC, Pl 4	>99	26.5	(.013)
	Molina	CCA, Pl 3	>99	18.9	(.013)
16	Yanez	SSC, Pl 1	71.6	55.4	(.053)*
	Mirabel	SSC, Pl 4	71	57.5	(.053)*
	Molina	CCA, Pl 3	68.3	51.1	(.053)*
20	Yanez	SSC, Pl 1	>99	30.4	(.012)
	Mirabel	SSC, Pl 4	>99	34.7	(.014)
	Molina	CCA, Pl 3	>99	23.9	(.011)
27	Ortiz	USCong	50.2	26.9	(.011)
	Yanez	SSC, Pl 1	>99	29.8	(.011)
	Mirabel	SSC, Pl 4	>99	34.1	(.011)
	Molina	CCA, Pl 3	>99	23.9	(.01)
28	Rodriguez	USCong	97.2	49.2	(.012)
	Yanez	SSC, Pl 1	97.2	39.7	(.012)
	Mirabel	SSC, Pl 4	95.5	42.2	(.012)
	Molina	CCA, Pl 3	86.2	33.9	(.013)

\*Not statistically significant at .05-level.

SSC = State Supreme Court

CCA = State Court of Criminal Appeals

Table 4  
 2002 General Election Results  
 U.S. Congressional Districts:  
 15, 16, 20, 27, & 28  
 Support by Race for  
 Non Hispanic Preferred Candidates  
 (Double Regression Estimates)

<u>Dist</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>%HispSupp</u>	<u>%NHispSupp</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
15	Schneider	SSC, Pl 1	< 1	77.9	(.01)
	Smith	SSC, Pl 4	< 1	73.5	(.009)
	Cochran	CCA, Pl 3	< 1	81.1	(.01)
16	Schneider	SSC, Pl 1	28.4	44.6	(.038)*
	Smith	SSC, Pl 4	29.04	42.5	(.037)*
	Cochran	CCA, Pl 3	31.7	48.9	(.045)*
20	Schneider	SSC, Pl 1	< 1	69.5	(.012)
	Smith	SSC, Pl 4	< 1	65.3	(.012)
	Cochran	CCA, Pl 3	< 1	76.14	(.013)
27	Ahumada	USCong	49.8	73.1	(.016)
	Schneider	SSC, Pl 1	< 1	70.2	(.011)
	Smith	SSC, Pl 4	< 1	65.9	(.011)
	Cochran	CCA, Pl 3	< 1	76.1	(.012)
28	Perales	USCong	2.8	50.8	(.012)
	Schneider	SSC, Pl 1	2.8	60.3	(.013)
	Smith	SSC, Pl 4	4.5	57.8	(.013)
	Cochran	CCA, Pl 3	13.8	66.1	(.014)

\*Not statistically significant at the .05-level

SSC = State Supreme Court

CCA = Court of Criminal Appeals



Table 5  
Homogeneous Precinct Analysis  
Hispanic Registered Voters  
US Congressional District 23  
(Endogenous and Selected Exogenous Statewide Elections)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%Votes</u>	<u>%HREG</u>
1992	US23rd	Bustamante (D) Bonilla (R)	9	64.1 35.9	85+
1994	US23rd	Rios (D) Bonilla (R)	11	70.5 29.5	90+
1996	US23rd	Jones (D) Bonilla (R)	13	64 36	90+
1998	US23rd	Jones (D) Bonilla (R)	22	66.7 33.3	90+
2000	US23rd	Garza (D) Bonilla (R)	17	71.3 28.7	90+
2002	US23rd	Cuellar (D) Bonilla (R)	24	87.5 12.5	90+
2002	Gov	Sanchez (D) Perry (R)	24	93.1 6.9	90+
2002	SSC, PI 1	Yanez (D) Schneider (R)	24	90.6 9.4	90+
2002	SSC, PI 4	Mirabel (D) Smith (R)	24	89 11	90+
2002	CCA, PI 3	Molina (D) Cochran (R)	24	90.8 9.1	90+

Table 6  
 Homogeneous Precinct Analysis  
 NonHispanic Registered Voters  
 US Congressional District 23  
 (Endogenous and Selected Exogenous Statewide Elections)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%Votes</u>	<u>%NHREG</u>
1992	US23rd	Bustamante (D) Bonilla (R)	20	11.9 88.1	95+
1994	US23rd	Rios (D) Bonilla (R)	22	16.1 83.9	95+
1996	US23rd	Jones (D) Bonilla (R)	19	14.2 85.8	95+
1998	US23rd	Jones (D) Bonilla (R)	16	11.4 88.5	95+
2000	US23rd	Garza (D) Bonilla (R)	17	14.4 85.6	95+
2002	US23rd	Cuellar (D) Bonilla (R)	9	16.6 83.4	95+
2002	Gov	Sanchez (D) Perry (R)	9	17.3 82.7	95+
2002	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D) Schneider (R)	18	20 80	90+
2002	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D) Smith (R)	18	25 75	90+
2002	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D) Cochran (R)	18	16 84	90+

Table 7  
Homogeneous Precinct Analysis  
2002 General Elections  
US Congressional Districts:  
15, 16, 20, 27 & 28  
Hispanic Registered Voters  
(Endogenous and Selected Exogenous Statewide Elections)

<u>Dist</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%Votes</u>	<u>%HREG</u>
15	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D)	24	90.4	90+
		Schneider (R)		9.6	
	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D)	24	88.3	90+
		Smith (R)		11.7	
	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D)	24	89.1	90+
		Cochran (R)		11.9	
16	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D)	8	77.5	90+
		Schneider (R)		22.5	
	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D)	8	76.5	90+
		Smith (R)		23.5	
	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D)	8	75.2	90+
		Cochran (R)		24.8	
20	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D)	32	91.8	90+
		Schneider (R)		8.2	
	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D)	32	91	90+
		Smith (R)		9	
	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D)	32	89.9	90+
		Cochran (R)		10.1	
27	USCong	Ortiz (D)	9	46.5	95+
		Ahumada (R)		53.6	
	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D)	28	89.6	90+
		Schneider (R)		10.4	
	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D)	28	87.5	90+
		Smith (R)		12.5	
	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D)	28	87.7	90+
		Cochran (R)		12.3	
28	USCong	Rodríguez (D)	9	93.6	95+
		Perales (R)		6.4	
	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D)	33	92.1	90+
		Schneider (R)		7.9	
	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D)	33	90.6	90+
		Smith (R)		9.4	
	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D)	33	91.4	90+
		Cochran (R)		8.6	

Table 8  
Homogeneous Precinct Analysis  
2002 General Elections  
US Congressional Districts:  
15, 16, 20, 27 & 28  
NonHispanic Registered Voters

(Endogenous and Selected Exogenous Statewide Elections)					
<u>Dist</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%Votes</u>	<u>%NHREG</u>
15	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D)	16	22.8	90+
		Schneider (R)		77.2	
	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D)	16	28.1	90+
		Smith (R)		71.9	
	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D)	16	20.8	90+
Cochran (R)		79.2			
16	Did not perform HPA due to lack of VTDs having more than 79% NHREG				
20	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D)	14	24.5	85+
		Schneider (R)		75.5	
	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D)	14	29.7	85+
		Smith (R)		70.3	
	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D)	14	19.5	85+
Cochran (R)		80.5			
27	USCong	Ortiz (D)	4	25.5	90+
		Ahumada (R)		74.5	
	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D)	4	28	90+
		Schneider (R)		72	
	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D)	4	31.4	90+
		Smith (R)		68.6	
	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D)	4	23.1	90+
		Cochran (R)		76.9	
28	USCong	Rodríguez (D)	10	50.4	95+
		Perales (R)		49.6	
	SSC, Pl 1	Yanez (D)	10	43.2	90+
		Schneider (R)		56.8	
	SSC, Pl 4	Mirabel (D)	10	46.4	90+
		Smith (R)		53.6	
	CCA, Pl 3	Molina (D)	10	38.4	90+
		Cochran (R)		61.6	

Table 9  
 General Election Results  
 Turnout by Race  
 US Congressional District 23  
 1992 - 2002  
 (Endogenous and Selected Exogenous Statewide Elections)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>%Hispanic Turnout</u>	<u>%NonHispanic Turnout</u>	<u>% Diff.</u>
1992	US23rd	43.1	78.8	35.7
1994	US23rd	25.4	58.3	32.9
1996	US23rd	30.5	66.3	35.8
1998	US23rd	18.7	57.2	38.5
2000	US23rd	32.5	74.8	42.3
2002	US23rd	27.2	53.8	26.6
2002	Gov	27.7	53.8	26.1
2002	SSC, Pl 1	25.6	51.6	26
2002	SSC, Pl 4	25.4	52.1	26.7
2002	CCA, Pl 3	25	51.1	26.1
Avg		25.6	59.8	34.2

Table 10  
 2002 General Election Results  
 Turnout by Race  
 US Congressional Districts:  
 15, 16, 20, 27, & 28  
 (Endogenous and Selected Exogenous Statewide Elections)

Dist	Election	<u>%Hispanic Turnout</u>	<u>%NonHispanic Turnout</u>	<u>% Diff.</u>
15	SSC, Pl 1	22.2	41.8	19.6
	SSC, Pl 4	21.3	42.3	21
	CCA, Pl 3	21.4	41.8	20.4
16	SSC, Pl 1	27	28	1*
	SSC, Pl 4	27	28	1*
	CCA, Pl 3	26.8	28.4	1.6*
20	SSC, Pl 1	19.5	46.3	26.8
	SSC, Pl 4	19.2	47.4	28.2
	CCA, Pl 3	19.2	45.7	26.5
27	USCong	48.2	78.1	29.9
	SSC, Pl 1	23.2	55.5	32.3
	SSC, Pl 4	22.5	56.8	34.3
	CCA, Pl 3	22.8	55.3	32.5
28	USCong	24.8	38.1	13.3
	SSC, Pl 1	25	37.9	12.9
	SSC, Pl 4	24.6	38.9	14.3
	CCA, Pl 3	27.6	37.7	10.1
	Avg [All]	24.8	44	19.2
	Avg [N-14]	24.4	47.4	23

**Table 11**  
**2002 General Election**  
**Texas Governorship**  
**Tony Sanchez v Rick Perry**  
**US Cong Dists: 15, 16, 20, 27, & 28**  
**Support by Race**  
**(Double Regression Estimates)**

<u>Dist</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>%HSupp</u>	<u>%NHSupp</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
15	Sanchez	99.6	18.8	(.012)
	Perry	.4	81.2	(.01)
16	Sanchez	69.1	52.3	(.054)*
	Perry	30.9	47.7	(.042)*
20	Sanchez	>99	25.5	(.011)
	Perry	< 1	74.5	(.014)
27	Sanchez	97.2	27.5	(.011)
	Perry	2.8	72.5	(.012)
28	Sanchez	94.5	33	(.013)
	Perry	5.5	67	(.015)

\*Not Statistically significant at the .05-level.

Table 12

2002 General Election  
Homogeneous Precinct Analysis  
Governor's Election  
USCDs: 15, 16, 20, 27 & 28

<u>Dist</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>%Hsupp</u>	<u>%NHSupp</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%Race</u>
15	Sanchez	87.2	n/a	24	90%+HREG
	Perry	12.8	n/a	24	"
15	Sanchez	n/a	20.5	16	90%+NHREG
	Perry	n/a	79.5	16	"
16	Sanchez	74.4	n/a	8	90%+HREG
	Perry	25.6	n/a	8	"
20	Sanchez	87.3	n/a	32	90%+HREG
	Perry	12.7	n/a	32	"
20	Sanchez	n/a	17.7	2	90%+NHREG
	Perry	n/a	82.3	2	"
27	Sanchez	85.6	n/a	28	90%+HREG
	Perry	14.4	n/a	28	"
27	Sanchez	n/a	27.2	4	90%+NHREG
	Perry	n/a	72.8	4	"
28	Sanchez	90.4	n/a	9	90%+HREG
	Perry	9.6	n/a	9	"
28	Sanchez	n/a	38	10	90%+NHREG
	Perry	n/a	62	10	"



Table 13

2002 General Election  
Turnout  
Governor's Election  
USCDs: 15, 16, 20, 27 & 28  
(Double Regression Estimates)

<u>Dist</u>	<u>%HREG TO</u>	<u>%NHREG TO</u>	<u>%Diff</u>
15	24.5	44.2	19.7
16	28	29.5	1.5*
20	19.9	47.6	27.7
27	24.7	58	34
28	27.2	38.8	11.6
<b>Avg</b>	<b>24.9</b>	<b>43.6</b>	<b>18.7</b>

\*Not statistically significant at .05-levels.

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Date of Birth: July 24, 1944

Place of Birth: San Antonio, TX

**EDUCATION**

B.A.; St. Mary's University; San Antonio, TX;  
May 1974.  
Major: Political Science  
Minor: English

M.A.; University of California, Santa Barbara; Santa Barbara, CA;  
December 1975.  
Major: Political Science

Ph.D.; University of California, Santa Barbara; Santa Barbara, CA; December 1981.  
Major: Political Science  
Examination Fields: Public Administration,  
American Politics,  
Political Philosophy,  
Multivariate Statistical Analysis.

**DISSERTATION**

“The Politics of Urban Land Use Decisions Underlying Industrial Development in  
Los Angeles, California: An Exegesis of Systemic Weakness.”

## **AWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS**

- Chancellor's Fellow, University of California at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California, 1974 – 1977.
- Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellow, 1977 – 1979.
- “Best Paper in Chicano Politics,” Western Political Science Association, 1986.
- Fullbright Fellow, Argentina, *La Universidad Catolica de Buenos Aires*, 1992.
- Distinguish Faculty Award, St. Mary's University Alumni Association, 2000 – 2001

## **PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS**

American Political Science Association - September 1975 - present.

Chair, Dissertation Award Committee, Section on Race and Ethnicity, 2000-2001.

Nominations Committee, Member, Section on Urban Politics, 1998-1999.

Nominations Committee, member, Section of Representation and Electoral Systems, 1999-2000.

Program Committee, Head, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, 1997-1998.

Committee for the Status of Latinos in the Profession - January 1994 - December 1996.

Governing Council, Pi Sigma Alpha - September 1994 - August 1997.

Editor, Urban Politics Section Newsletter - January 1996 – June 2000.

Book Review Editor, Representation and Electoral Systems Newsletter, 2000-Unknown.

Member, Byran O. Jackson Memorial Award Committee - 1996.

Chair, Hallet Award Committee - 1996-1997.

Member, Ralph Bunche Memorial Award Committee-2000, 2004.

Member, Dissertation Award Committee-2000.

Southwestern Political Science Association - March 1985 - present.

Executive Committee - March 1986 - April 1988.

Nominations Committee - March 1995 - April 1998. March 1999 – April 2002

Section Head, Mass Political Behavior - March 1995 - February 1996

Western Political Science Association - March 1976 - present.

Chair, Dissertation Award Committee, 1997-1998.

Committee for the Status of Chicanos in the Profession - March 1984 - February 1987.

Committee for Ethics in the Profession - March 1990 - February 1991.

Executive Committee - March 1987 - February 1991.

Pi Sigma Alpha Committee - March 1995 - February 1998.

Program Committee – 2002 – 2003.  
Dissertation Award Committee – 2002 – 2003.  
Best Paper Award Committee – 2003 - 2004.

Associate Editor, Urban Affairs Review, 1995-1998.

Associate Editor, American Review of Politics, 1996-Present.

Editorial Board, Texas Journal of Political Studies, 1996-1999.

**COMMUNITY - PUBLIC SERVICE ACTIVITIES**

Opinion Columnist, *La Prensa*, San Antonio, Texas, 2003.  
Presenter, Stormont Lectures, Victoria College, Victoria, Texas, Feb. 2003.  
Presenter, Latino Academy, Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, San Antonio, TX, Aug. 9, 2002.  
Presenter, US House Committee Hearings on Irregularities in the Voting Process, San Antonio, Texas. Apr. 2001.  
Presenter, The Texas Forum on Civil Liberties and Civil Rights and The Hispanic Journal of Law and Policy of the University of Texas School of Law's Symposium "Drawing Line in the Sand: The Texas Latino Community and Redistricting 2001." Apr. 2001.  
Presenter, Joint Senate-House Redistricting Committee, State of Texas, Apr. 2001.  
Presenter, Texas Senate Redistricting Committee, Mar. 2001.  
Presenter, Texas House Redistricting Committee, Mar. 2001.  
Presenter, Redistricting Symposium, Willie C. Velasquez Institute, League of United Latin American Citizens, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and National Association of Latino Elected Officials, Feb. 2001, Austin, TX.  
Presenter, Summit of the States, Center for Policy Alternatives, Dec. 2000, Washington, D.C.  
Presenter, Latino Issues Conference, Willie C. Velasquez Institute, Nov. 2000, Menger Hotel, San Antonio, Texas.  
Presenter, Latino Academy, Willie C. Velasquez Institute, Oct. 2000, Kerrville, TX.  
Presenter, Willie C. Velasquez Institute Redistricting Conference, Aug. 2000, Houston, Texas.  
Presenter, Southwest Voter Registration and Educational Project Conference, Feb. 2000, Palm Springs, CA.  
Member, Henry B. Gonzalez Congressional Library Fundraising Committee, 1997.  
Member, San Antonio/Bexar County, City/County Consolidation Committee, 1996.  
Chair, Subcommittee on Voting Rights.  
Presenter, Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, 1995.  
Member, Board of Directors, Hemispheric Institute for Public Service (HIPS), San Antonio, Texas, January 1988 - present.

Member, Advisory Committee, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund's (MALDEF) Leadership Development Program, 1987-1988.

### **ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES**

Sabbatical Leave, Willie C. Velasquez Research Institute, San Antonio, TX, Fall – 2001.  
Professor, Department of Political Science, St. Mary's University, Spring 1993 - Present.  
Acting Graduate Director, Masters in Public Administration, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, Fall, 1997.

Chair, Department of Political Science, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, June 1991 - May 1995, Acting Chair January – August 1998.

Fulbright Scholar, *Universidad Católica de Argentina*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1991 - 1992.

Director, Graduate Program in Political Science, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, Fall 1989 - May 1991; January 1996 – May 1999; June 2003 Present.

Director, Masters in Public Administration, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, Fall 1983 - May 1991; Fall 2000 – Present.

Associate Professor, Political Science, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, Spring 1986 – Spring, 1993.

Assistant Professor, Political Science, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, Fall 1983 - Spring 1986.

### **COURSES DESIGNED AND TAUGHT AT ST. MARY'S**

Have designed and taught 20 different undergraduate courses during 20 years of teaching at St. Mary's.

PA/PO 6300 – Political Science Research Methods (Graduate Statistics Seminar)

PA/PO 6301 - Public Administration (Graduate Seminar)

PO 6302 - Public Policy Analysis (Graduate Seminar)

PO 6302 - Political Economics (Graduate Seminar)

PA/PO 6303 - Urban Political Institutions and Processes (Graduate Seminar)

PO 6304 - Urban Politics (Graduate Seminar)

PA/PO 6305 - American Political Institutions (Graduate Seminar)

PO 6310 - Comparative Politics (Graduate Seminar)

PO 6352 - U.S. Latino Communities (Graduate Seminar)

PO 6353 - Urban Issues in the Americas (Graduate Seminar)

PA/PO 6354 – Campaign Management (Graduate Seminar)

### **ACADEMIC SERVICE ACTIVITIES**

Member, St. Mary's Contingent to Marianist Universities Meetings, Chaminade University, Honolulu, Hawaii, June, 2003.

Member, Search Committee, Vice President for Enrollment Management – 2003.

Advisor, Young Democrats [St. Mary's University Chapter]-2000 - 2002.

Advisor, LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens [St. Mary's Student

Chapter]-1999-Present.  
Advisor, MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán)-1997-1998.  
Member, University-Wide Strategic Planning Coordinating Committee, 1994 -1996.  
Member, Strategic Planning Committee for Planning and Information Management,  
1994 - 1996.  
Member, University Board of Trustees, Academic Affairs Subcommittee, 1993 -1995.  
Chairperson, University Task Force on Scholarship and Change, 1994.  
President, Faculty Senate, 1993 - 1995.  
Member, Alumni Association Board of Trustees, Ex-Officio, 1993-1994, 1994 - 1995.  
Subcommittee on Strategic Planning.  
Subcommittee on Fund Raising.  
Subcommittee on Awards.  
Member, Committee on Facilities Management, 1993 -1995.  
Member, University Tenure Review Committee, Spring 1993.  
Member, University Committee on Writing Evaluation, 1992 -1994.  
Member, University Pre-Law Advisory Committee, 1991 -1992.  
Chair, Academic Affairs Committee, Faculty Senate, 1988 -1989.  
Member, Graduate Council, 1983 -1991.  
Chair, Faculty Budgetary Committee, 1987 -1989.  
Member, Committee on Graduate Education, 1987 -1989.  
Member, Search Committee, Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, 1986 -  
1987.  
Member, Search Committee, Dean of Graduate School, 1985 - 1986.  
Member, Humanities and Social Sciences Committee on Faculty Evaluations, 1987 -  
1988.  
Member, Faculty Senate Committee for the Status of Faculty, 1985 - 1987.  
Member, Honor's Council, 1984 -1987; 2000 - present.  
Chair, Committee on the Philosophy of the Liberal Arts, 1983 -1984.  
Member, President's Peace Commission, 1983 -1984.

## **BOOKS**

The Evolution of the Liberal Democratic State With a Case Study of Latinos in  
San Antonio, Texas. (Edwin Mellon Press, 2003).

Mexican Americans and the Law. Co-authored with Sonia Garcia, Roberto Juarez,  
and Rey Valencia. (University of Arizona Press, 2004).

## **ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS IN BOOKS**

"Contemporary San Antonio Politics: 1900 - 2003." In San Antonio Politics.  
Edited by Richard Gambitta. NY: McGraw-Hill Publishing, Co, 2004.

"Are Latinos Becoming More Republican?" Journal of South Texas Studies,  
Summer, 2003.

- "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Texas Latinos and Redistricting 2001," The Texas Hispanic Journal of Law and Policy, Austin, TX: The University of Texas School of Law, 2001.
- "Political Rhetoric for the 1990s" in The '94 Election (Non) Voters Companion, edited by Dean Harris (Claremont, CA: 1996).
- "Man A Mexican Doesn't Have A Chance: An Assessment of Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez's Leadership," Texas Journal of Political Studies, (June, 1993).
- "East Los Angeles: A Field of Dreams" in City of Angels, edited by Gerry Riposa and Carolyn Dersch (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1992).
- "The Texas Hispanic Voter: Prospects and Trends," with Robert Brischetto in From Rhetoric to Reality: Latino Politics in the 1988 Elections edited by Rodolfo De LaGarza and Louis De Sipio (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1992).
- "Deconstruction and Chicano Politics," in Latinos and Political Coalitions: Political Empowerment for the 1990s, edited by Robert Villarreal and Norma Hernandez (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991).
- "The Selectivity of the Capitalist State: Chicanos and Economic Development," Western Political Quarterly, Summer, 1989.
- "Structural Barriers to Chicano Empowerment," in Latino Empowerment: Progress, Problems, and Prospects, edited by Roberto Villarreal, Howard Neighbors and Norma Hernandez (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988).
- "La Ecología y medio Ambiente en la Zona Frontera del sur de Texas," Mexico - E.U.A.: Cooperación y Conflicto, Memoria del Foro Efectuado en Mexico, D.F., Diciembre, 1986*
- "The Urban Land Use Decision making Process: An Exegesis of Systemic Weakness," Proceedings of the National Association for Chicano Studies, 1979.
- "Some Different Thoughts Concerning *Machismo*," Comadre, Fall, 1978.

### **Book Reviews**

Reviewed approximately 35 different volumes for various scholarly journals.

### **RESEARCH AND WORK IN PROGRESS**

“Latinos, Racially Polarized Voting, and Redistricting in Texas, 2001,” Occasional Paper Series, San Antonio, TX: The William C. Velasquez Research Institute.

Work on volume tentatively entitled, Latinos, Political Participation, and the Voting Rights Act (data gathering stage).

Work on article on the political and electoral cohesiveness of African Americans and Hispanics (data gathering stage).

Gathering data for a series of articles, possibly a book length manuscript, on racially polarized elections as an essential element of the redistricting processes in Texas, Arizona, and California.

Supervision of Census Project 2007 – This project is intended to result in a compendium of data that will depict the social, economic, and political progress of the national Latino Community over the last four census periods and is intended as a submission to the United States Senate during the reauthorization hearings of Voting Rights Act.

- The Stormont Lecture and resulting publication was the first product of this project.
- Paper to be presented at 2004 Western Political Science Association Meetings tentatively entitled “Can Critical Realignment Elections Be Artificially Constructed: A Case Study of the 2001-2004 Texas Redistricting Debacle.”
- Paper to be presented at 2004 Midwestern Political Science Association Meetings tentatively entitled “Some Methodological Barriers to be Overcome Attempting to Utilize Census Data in Longitudinal Studies.”

### **PAPERS DELIVERED**

“Can Critical Realignment Elections Be Artificially Constructed: A Case Study of the 2001 - 2004 Texas Redistricting Debacle.” 2004, Western Political Science Association, Portland, OR.

“Some Methodological Barriers to be Overcome Attempting to Utilize Census Data in Longitudinal Studies.” 2004. Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, 2004.

Mayor Ed Garza of San Antonio, TX: A Cisneros Legacy.” 2001, Western Political Science Association, Long Beach, CA.



“Competitiveness and Electoral Systems: Are Districted Elections More Competitive Than At-Large Systems?” 2000, The American Political Science Association, Washing, D.C.

“The Effects of Single Member Districts on Latino Political Participation or Is the Baby Being Thrown Out With the Bath Water?” 1999, The American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA.

Roundtable on Morning Glories: the Politics of Southwestern Cities by Amy Bridges, 1999, Western Political Science Association, Seattle, WA.

“Term Limits and the Voting Rights Act: The Case of San Antonio, Texas,” 1998, The American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.

“Voter Turnout and Majority-Minority Districts: The Effect on Municipal Districts,” 1997, The American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.

“ ‘No Room! No Room!’ They Cried Out When They Saw Alice Coming: The Recent Gerrymandering Decisions of the South,” 1995, Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, TX.

Roundtable, “The Selma March and the Voting Rights Act After Thirty Years: A Commemoration, Assessment of the Past, and Preview of the Future,” (Thematic Session), 1995, Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas TX.

Roundtable, “An Assessment of Latino Political Influence in the Southwest,” 1995, Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, TX.

“Chaos and the City,” 1994, Western Political Science Association, Albuquerque, NM.

“The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Delivery of Municipal Services,” 1993, Western Political Science Association, Pasadena, CA.

“The Voting Rights Act and the Equitable Distribution of Municipal Services,” 1992, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

“An Evolution of City Typologies,” 1991, Western Political Science Association, Seattle, WA.

“Post Modernism and Chicano Politics,” 1990, Western Political Science Association, Newport Beach, CA.

"Water Policy in South Central Texas: An Impossible Dream," 1989, Southwestern Political Science Association, Little Rock, AK.

"Deconstruction and Chicano Politics," 1988, Southwestern Political Science Association, Houston, TX

"Growth and Justice in Local Politics: The Issues for the Coming Decade," 1988, Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.

"Playing Power Politics the American Way," 1987, Western Political Science Association, Anaheim, CA. Award for Best Paper on Chicano Politics.

"The Ecology and Environment of the South Texas Border Region," 1986, Mexico – E.U.A.: Cooperación y Conflicto, Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública, A.C., Mexico City, D.F.

"Structural Barriers to Chicano Empowerment," 1986, Symposium on Chicano Empowerment, University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX.

Panel Chair, "The Status of Hispanics in the United States in the 1980's" 1986, Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX.

"The Cohesiveness of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus," 1985, Southern Political Science Association, Nashville, TN.

"The Cohesiveness and Representativeness of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus: Some Preliminary Considerations," 1985, Southwest Social Science Association, Houston, TX.

"The Bourgeoisification of Chicano Youth: What Is To Be Done?" 1984, National Association of Chicano Studies, Austin, TX.

"Chicanos and Politics in the 1980's," 1984, Western Political Science Association, Sacramento, CA.

"An Inherently Discriminatory Cobweb: Some Considerations Concerning the American Political System," 1983, National Association of Chicano Studies, Ypsilanti, MI.

#### **LITIGATION RESEARCH AND EXPERT LEGAL TESTIMONY**

Leal and League of United Latin American Citizens v San Antonio River Authority (SA-85-CA-2988/1986) - Racial Polarization, History of Racial Discrimination in San Antonio, TX. Testified in TRO hearing.

Villarreal v Mosbacher, 1992 - Racial Discrimination in Delivery of Food Stamps.  
Produced expert report and testified in deposition.

Rodriguez and Reyes v Rocksprings Independent School District (DR-89-CA-29) –  
Racial Polarization, History of Discrimination in Texas, 1991 - 1992.  
Produced expert report and testified in deposition.

Gonzalez v Mission Hospital (C-3566-88-B) - Age and Racial Discrimination in  
Employment, 1992. Expert Report.

Vinalay v Coca Cola Bottling Company of the Valley - Age and Racial  
Discrimination in Employment, 1992. Expert Report.

Voting Rights Act, Sec. 2, submission on the part of Congressman Joe Barton, R-Ennis,  
TX before Honorable William Dunn, United States, Assistant Attorney General  
for Civil Rights, 1992. Expert Report and testimony

Terrazas v Slagle - 1990 Texas Reapportionment, Racial Polarization in Texas, 1992.  
Expert report, deposition and trial testimony.

Ruth Sanchez v Sears, Roebuck and Co. (CA-M-91-110) - Gender and  
Racial Discrimination in Employment, 1992. Expert report.

LULAC and FOCUS v Midland Community College District - Voting Rights, Racial  
Polarization, History of Discrimination in West Texas, 1993. Expert report  
and deposition.

Norma Elizondo Garza v Texas Department of Human Services (CA-C-2679-89-C) –  
Gender Employment and Promotion Discrimination, 1993. Expert report and  
testimony during mediation.

Willie J. Rollins, Ervin O. Grice and League of United Latin American Citizens, #188 v  
Fort Bend Independent School District, et al (CA-H-92-3399) – Racial  
Polarization and History of Discrimination in East Texas, 1993. Expert  
witness deposition and trial testimony.

LULAC of Texas and Alfred Lucero v The State of Texas (L-93-26) - Voting Rights,  
Racial Polarization and the History of Racial Discrimination in Texas,  
1993. Preliminary expert report.

LULAC and Dr. Harold Jones v North East Independent School District - Voting Rights,  
Racial Polarization and the History of Racial Discrimination in San Antonio,  
Texas, 1993-1995. Expert report, deposition and trial testimony.

Larencene Lespreance v Schreiner College (CA-SA-93-CA-1084) - Employment Discrimination, ADA, 1994. Expert report.

LULAC v Northside Independent School District - Voting Rights, Racial Polarization and the History of Discrimination in Texas, 1994. Expert report and deposition.

Guerra, et al v Celanese Corp. et al, C.A. No. C-80-115 (USDC, Southern District, Corpus Christi) Mireles et al v. Celanese Corp. et al, C.A. No. C-76-134 (USDC, Southern District, Corpus Christi) - Employment Discrimination. 1995 – 2000. Expert report.

Perez, et al v Pasadena Independent School District, et al C.A. No. H-92-3578 - Voting Rights, Racial Polarization, 1995 - 2001. Expert report, deposition and trial testimony.

LULAC v Roscoe Independent School District - Voting Rights, Racial Polarization, 1995. Expert report, deposition and trial testimony.

Milwaukee Branch of NAACP, et al and Ramon Valdez v Governor Tommy Thompson, et al, and Wisconsin Association of Trial Judges, et al CA No. 94-C-1245 - Voting Rights and Racial Polarization, 1996. Expert report.

Helen Dutmer v The City of San Antonio, TX CA No. SA-95-CA-764 – Voting Rights, Racial Polarization, and Term Limits for City Council Members, 1996. Expert report and deposition.

Efrain Gomez v Hygeia Dairy Company, CA No. C-95-447 - Age Discrimination, 1996. Expert report and mediation testimony.

Armando Longoria v Hygeia Dairy Company, CA No. 1994-CCL-00727-B Workman's Compensation, 1996. Mediation scheduled for Oct 24, 1996. Expert report and mediation testimony.

Terry Stanford v Hygeia Dairy Company, CA 95-6035-C - Workman's Compensation, 1996. Expert report and mediation testimony.

Blanchard v Pecos County Bank, CA P-96-CA-82 - Racial discrimination in promotion, 1996-98. Expert Report.

Aguilar v Gonzalez - Racial Polarization in elections State of New Mexico, 1996-97. Expert report and testimony.

Valero, et al v City of Kerrville, et al, CA No. SA-96-CA-413-FB, 1997 - present –  
Racial Polarization and Political Cohesiveness of African American and Hispanic  
Voters In City of Kerrville. Expert report and deposition.

Harris v City of Houston - Racial Polarization in City of Houston and Harris County  
General and City Council Elections, 1996-97. Expert report, deposition, TRO  
Testimony.

Sharyland LULAC and Mario Hernandez v Sharyland ISD-Racial Polarization in school  
district elections, 1997. Expert report.

Casarez v Val Verde County - Racial Polarization in the use of Federal Post Card  
Application Ballots, 1997. Expert report, deposition, trial testimony.

Garza v HCA Health Services of Texas, Inc. D/B/A HCA Grande Regional Hospital-  
Workmen's Compensation, 1997. Expert report.

Graham v City of San Antonio, Texas, and Robert Ojeda, Fire Chief – Promotion  
Discrimination, 1997. Expert report and fact hearing testimony.

Richard Reynosa, et al v Amarillo Independent School District, et al – Racial Polarization  
And Political Cohesiveness of African American and Hispanic Voters in Amarillo  
ISD, 1998. Expert report and deposition.

Rothe Development Corp vs USDOD and USAF – Minority Contracting, 1999. Expert  
report and deposition.

Aguilar v Titan Tire Company – Workmen's Compensation Retaliation, 2001. Expert  
report.

Balderas, Roman, and Torres v State of Texas, et al (CA 6:010v158) – State Senate,  
House and US Congressional Redistricting, 2001. Consulting Expert.

State of Texas v Mr. Patrick McCarty (No. 01-03-2829) – Change of venue, race relations  
in South Texas, 2002. Expert Report and hearing testimony.

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